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AUTHOR	Triandis, Harry C.; Malpass, Roy S.
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ABSTRACT

Subjective culture is a human group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment. It includes the group's model attitudes, norms, values, and roles. The study of subjective culture is likely to make a contribution to our understanding of the way various groups in any culture interact with members of other groups. The present field guide may be useful to persons undertaking such studies. No research program or methodology proceeds without a general meta-theory. We therefore describe some general attributes of the present theoretical framework and some general relations between this framework and the procedures and tests made in the study of subjective culture. The present field guide presents the essential points of the theoretical framework and a discussion of the methodological issues, together with explicit statements and examples of the way subjective culture data might be collected in different cultural settings. It is hoped that the treatment of the methodological issues is sufficiently detailed, here, to allow other investigators to do similar work with cultural groups, or in settings which are easily available to them. The main examples of this field guide were taken from a study of black and white interaction in job settings. The appendices include the questionnaire employed in a study of black and white subjective culture. (Author/JM)

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DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
URBANA, ILLINOIS 61801

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FIELD GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF ASPECTS OF SUBJECTIVE CULTURE

Harry C. Triandis and Roy S. Malpass
University of Illinois

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Harry C. Triandis
Principal Investigator

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Preface

This report is part of a series which will be concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We plan to test the assumption that economic disadvantages create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. We call such characteristic perceptions the "subjective culture" of a particular group. We expect to find characteristic differences in the subjective cultures of blacks and whites who differ in level of economic advantage. We suspect that such differences in subjective culture lead to major barriers in communication between an employee and his supervisor, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Our plan is to determine the differences in subjective culture by employing a battery of newly developed procedures, tailormade to detect cultural differences; we then plan to incorporate this information in specially designed training programs; finally, we hope to test the effectiveness of these training programs by examining the effects of training on measures of occupational stability.

The present report discusses the meta-theoretical and methodological issues which are most central to the analysis of subjective culture. It provides background to those social scientists who wish to do similar studies. It also includes the actual questionnaires we have used. Since these questionnaires were developed extremely carefully, with a good deal of pretesting, translations into black English and back translations into standard English, they represent a good deal of work which does not have to be duplicated by others who wish to study similar problems. They are presented in the appendix of this report. If you wish to use these questionnaires, you need not ask for our permission. If we can help in anyway, please let us know. If you do use the questionnaires, we will appreciate receiving a copy of your report.

Harry C. Triandis

FIELD GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF ASPECTS OF SUBJECTIVE CULTURE[1]

Harry C. Triandis and Roy S. Malpass

University of Illinois

Subjective culture is a human group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment. It includes the group's modal attitudes, norms, roles and values. The study of subjective culture is likely to make a contribution to our understanding of the way various groups in any culture interact with members of other groups. Since problems of intercultural understanding are among the most critical problems of our time, it is considered desirable to encourage the widespread study of subjective culture. The present field guide may be useful to persons undertaking such studies.

There is considerable evidence that culture influences perception and cognition (Segall, Campbell and Herskovits, 1966; Triandis, 1964a). The problem here is to analyze those critical aspects of cognition which characterize a whole cultural group and contrast it from other groups. To accomplish this task we need a set of concepts that might be used to analyze subjective culture. In addition, there are several methodological issues, associated with the analysis of subjective culture, which must be discussed, before sound studies of subjective culture are made possible.

No research program or methodology proceeds without a general meta-theory. This theory may be explicit in varying degrees, but even if totally

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[1]The development of this field guide was supported, in part, by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Grant No. RD-2841-G. Jack Feldman has made many valuable contributions to both the conceptionalization reported here and the empirical studies that support it.

implicit its effect as a set of unacknowledged assumptions will be felt in the final form of data and their interpretation. The meta-theory is part of the method package. We shall therefore describe some general attributes of the present theoretical framework and some general relations between this framework and the procedures and tests made in the study of subjective culture. A more extended discussion of both the theory and methodology behind the study of subjective culture can be found in Triandis et al (1971). The present field guide presents the essential points of the theoretical framework and a discussion of the methodological issues, together with explicit statements and examples of the way subjective culture data might be collected in different cultural settings. It is hoped that the treatment of the methodological issues is sufficiently detailed, here, to allow other investigators to do similar work with cultural groups, or in settings which are easily available to them. The main examples of this field guide will be taken from a study of black and white interaction in job settings (Triandis and Malpass, submitted for publication). The appendices include the questionnaires employed in a study of black and white subjective culture.

Theoretical Framework

Anthropologists and psychologists agree that categorization is a ubiquitous human activity found in all cultures. By categorization we mean that humans give the same response to discriminably different stimuli. For example, although the human eye is capable of discriminating about 7,500,000 colors, we typically employ less than a dozen color names in describing our color environment. Cultures differ in the number of categories they utilize within a particular domain of meaning, and in the number and the kinds of criterial attributes they employ. So, although categorization is a general phenomenon which transcends cultures, the content of categories

is not. One of our tasks, then, is to develop procedures which will determine cultural differences in categorization. Some of the work of Lenneberg and Roberts (1956), Brown and Lenneberg (1954) and Landar (1960) did this for color categories, but more needs to be done for other kinds of categories. Language is intimately involved in categorization and is related to other cognitive activity. For example, research demonstrating a relationship between features of the use of language in stimulus domains (codability, communication accuracy) and recognition memory for members of the stimulus domain has been reported by Brown and Lenneberg (1954, using color chips), Lantz and Stefflre (1964, using color chips) and Frijda and Van de Geer (1961, for emotional expression in faces). One way to approach this problem in the study of subjective culture is to develop linguistic procedures which will reflect differences in categorization. A number of cognitive tasks can be presented to subjects in different cultures and they can be asked to make a variety of judgments involving concepts. For example, we might ask "Is A the same as B?" "Is A equivalent to B?" "Is A included in B?" "Is it possible for both A and B to be true at the same time?" etc.

Triandis, Kilty, Shanmugam, Tanaka and Vassiliou (1968) employed such questions in a study of American, Greek, Indian and Japanese students. In phase I, they asked students to complete sentences of the form: "If you have ..., then you have JUSTICE." or "If you have JUSTICE, then you have ..." The concepts used to fill sentences of the first kind were called antecedents and the concepts used to fill sentences of the second kind were called consequents. The most frequently obtained antecedents and consequents were then presented to subjects in phase II, in a structured format. The subjects were required to choose out of a list of 5 antecedents, or 5 consequents, the one "that best completes the particular sentence." The

five antecedents or consequents were selected from among the most frequently obtained antecedents and consequents in phase I, in such a way that in each case there was one antecedent or consequent that was frequently given in America, one in Greece, one in India and one in Japan. The fifth response alternative was culture-common. The subjects responded to phase II predominately by choosing either the culture-common response or the response generated during phase I by subjects from their own culture. The frequency distributions of the choices of the subjects were compared by chi-square and it was possible to show that there are a large number of cultural differences in the perception of antecedents and consequents. Nevertheless, the similarities in responding are more overwhelming than the differences, thus encouraging us to believe that we were indeed tapping the meaning of the particular concepts. Similar studies with other logical forms appear perfectly feasible and should be carried out.

Explorations of this type can reveal substantial differences in the meaning of concepts. Another aspect of this approach is the identification of the attributes which define each domain of meaning. Here there are many highly promising approaches. Componential analysis (e.g., Wallace, 1962), multidimensional scaling (e.g., Torgerson, 1958), facet analysis (Guttman, 1959; Foa, 1965), and feature analysis (Osgood, 1968) can provide fruitful approaches to the extraction of the criterial attributes of concepts. Full development of this point is not possible here.

Verbal conditioning can lead to modifications in the amount of affect associated with a particular category. The work of Staats (1967) and others illustrates this point. A category becomes associated with other categories, as well as with affect and with behavioral intentions. For example, a teacher may respond to the category "long haired students" by making

certain associations between long hair and other characteristics, thus revealing her implicit personality theory, by experiencing negative affect and by an indication of her behavioral intentions to exclude such students from her classroom, report them to the principal, etc.

Triandis (1967) argued that interpersonal attitudes might be analyzed by examining the cognitive component by means of logical tasks such as the antecedent-consequent method, the affective component by means of Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957) and the behavioral intentions by means of the behavioral differential (Triandis, 1964b). Similarly, other kinds of attitudes may be examined by asking subjects to make various kinds of judgments. As we move from concrete to abstract categories we move away from attitudes into the realm of values.

The concepts of our theoretical framework can now be sketched. They are ordered at different levels of abstraction. At the most concrete level we have "discriminable stimuli." The next level consists of "elementary categories" (visual, auditory, aptic, behavioral, etc.). The phoneme is an excellent example of a concept at the elementary category level. The next level consists of "meaning categories." The morpheme is an excellent example of such a category. Meaning categories combine to form "concepts," and concepts combine into "elementary cognitive structures." A variety of elementary cognitive structures can be explored, including implication (Davis and Triandis, 1965), antecedent-consequent relations (Triandis et al, 1968), reinforcement expectations (Dulany, 1964), beliefs, stereotypes, attitudes, behavioral intentions, norms, roles, ideals, and tasks. It can be shown that each of these concepts combines two or more types of "meaning categories." At the highest level of abstraction we have "values," which are like attitudes, in that they have a cognitive, affective and behavioral

component, but deal with very abstract categories, such as man and nature. While attitudes refer to relatively specific categories, such as Negroes, international relations, or "my university", values refer to such categories as man, the relationship of man to nature, man to time, and the modes of man's existence (Kluckhohn, 1959; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1969).

Each of these concepts can be studied by developing an appropriate cognitive task.

Broad Methodological Issues

A schematization of the research progression is presented in Figure 1. One begins with a meta-theory which suggests verbal elicitation procedures and/or behavior observation procedures which result in a list of concepts or behaviors which are members of categories in the theoretical framework. These categories can be used to test or generate models of category attributes or models of the interrelations of categories. More specifically, the general meta-theory may include the construct "behavior." The verbal elicitation procedures may lead to lists of concepts which people in the particular culture consider "behaviors." These concepts may have attributes, such as appropriateness or inappropriateness, which may be correlated among themselves so that models of distance among the behavior concepts may be derived from ordinary multi-variate analyses.

It should be pointed out that the model operates both in a divergent way to generate a heterogeneous set of concepts, or behaviors, or category groups specified for the general theoretical framework and in a convergent way to reduce, classify, interrelate and formalize a theory of subjective culture within the relevant populations. This general strategy has been used by Osgood et al (1962) and Triandis et al (1971) and involves a multi-step procedure. For example, if one wishes to elicit a heterogeneous

set of interpersonal behaviors one should first specify a heterogeneous set of persons who could possibly engage in interpersonal behavior, eliciting behavior categories with reference to them. If one is not certain about how to specify a heterogeneous set of persons, a three-step procedure could be used. One could sample a heterogeneous (or very large) set of behavioral environments as a means of contacting a widely divergent set of individuals. Behavior environments, according to our meta-theory, have the convenient property of being correlated with geography, which can be made amenable to sampling procedures making use of few behavioral assumptions. However many steps an elicitation procedure has, its purpose is to generate a representative set of content categories, with (hopefully) the only limitations being those imposed by the original theoretical framework (the origin of the concepts "behavior," "person," "behavioral environment") and the particular constraining features of the type of method used (verbal, obtrustive observations).

The application of these procedures results in a list of content categories subordinate to those in the structural meta-theory, but without regard to their interrelations. When this content list has been specified, a number of alternatives are open: (a) one can derive attributes of the content categories through multi-dimensional scaling or factor analyses (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957; Triandis, 1964b); (b) one might examine the relations among the categories such as, for example, whether one category implies another (Davis and Triandis, 1965); (c) one might employ facet analysis (Guttman, 1959) or feature analysis (Osgood, 1968) to test his hypothesis concerning the existing attributes. The hypotheses under (c) might be derived from having applied alternate (a) previously with a different subject population. (d) One might refer to a general model of behavior or

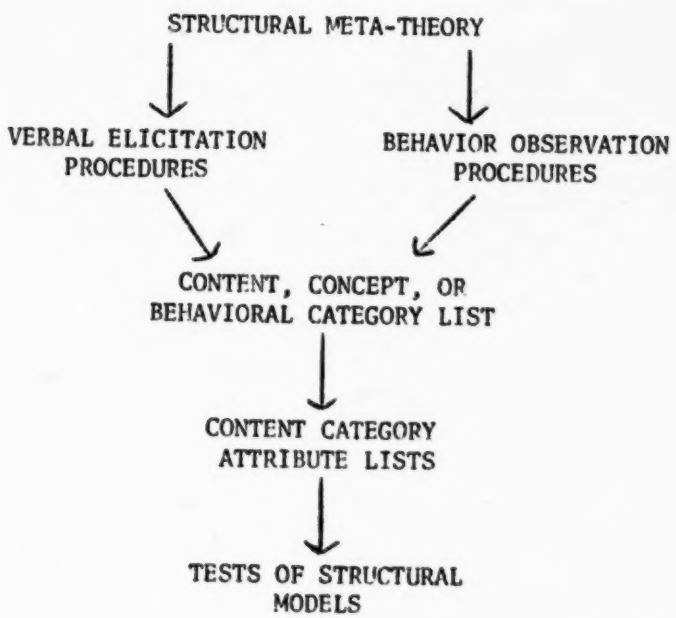

Figure 1. Outline of the progression of subjective culture research.

cognitive structure, e.g., instrumentality theory (Peak, 1955; Rosenberg, 1956) to structure further data gathering and model testing.

If the investigator wishes to remain more "inductive", he can elicit category attributes by a number of strategies employing sorting and judgment tasks. These content categories and category attributes or relations then become the materials with which tests of structural models are constructed. The outcomes of the tests of structural models are indications of the extent of understanding of another culture, and are constructed as criterion tests having varying "degrees of difficulty." For example, the first thing one may learn about another culture are sequences of events that have high probability in that culture. A higher level of understanding would involve the appropriate use of concepts which improve the prediction of behavior in the other culture. An even higher level involves the ability to correctly manipulate the behavior of others: a sort of intercultural Machiavelli. Such a person would have the "correct" structural models which work for him and which he has sufficiently tested so that they are dependently useful. The more a person can get his way in a culture, the more understanding he shows of that culture. Since in every culture a given behavior is appropriate in only a subset of cultural environments, one way of conceptualizing the effective person in intercultural encounters is to think of the person who can change his behavior as he moves from one environment to another always maintaining a high degree of effectiveness.

An assumption underlying these procedures is that by using methods that are related sequentially in discreet steps we can avoid certain biases. More specifically, by utilizing different samples of subjects and different procedures at the point of the elicitation of the categories, the derivation of the attributes, and the testing of the models, we are least likely to be vulnerable to inadverent biases of a single method, or procedure, or subject sample.

Partial Summary

One of the major concerns of the analysis of subjective culture is the development of procedures which will enable us to answer some rather general questions. (1) How can we come to know another culture? (2) How do we know when we know?

We have proposed a theoretical framework which includes a number of concepts and procedures which allow us to quantify the constructs of the framework. We have also proposed that understanding another culture means being able to behave effectively in different environments characteristic of that culture so that the criterion of knowing is the possession of information which leads to successful, adaptive behavior in the array of environments of the other culture.

Specific Issues

Sampling

Populations. We should attempt data collections within representative samples of cultunits (Naroll, 1964). A cultunit is "a group of territorially contiguous people who not only are domestic speakers of mutually intelligible dialects, but also belong to the same state or contact group" (Naroll, 1964, p. 286). While there are difficulties with the cultunit definition (Whiting, 1968), the basic idea seems sound. When representative sampling is not feasible, another strategy which may be appropriate is the systematic sampling of groups that contrast in a number of significant dimensions, such as race, nationality, sex, religion, social economic class or language. Sampling strategies are contingent on the purposes of the research. If one wishes to encompass entire cultures, sampling requirements are very rigorous. If one wishes to limit oneself to particular groups which contrast on one or more of the sampling dimensions, for example blacks and whites in the United

States, one's sampling concerns are more limited to dimensions of variances within these groups, such as sex, socio-economic class, age, education, rural-urban background, employed-unemployed, and religiosity. Appropriate sampling depends on available resources and the nature of the problem and will not be discussed here in any greater detail. A variety of sampling designs, such as those reviewed by Kish (1965), may be used depending on the nature of the problem.

Stimuli. The sampling of stimulus classes may involve (a) attitude objects, (b) beliefs, (c) role categories, (d) stereotypes, (e) values, (f) social actions, or any other category of cultural products that a particular local population may designate. However, the sampling of stimuli within a particular stimulus class category ought to be representative; for example, if we wish to study social behaviors, we should have a representative sample of social behaviors to be used as stimuli. One strategy requires the sampling of a highly diverse set of stimulus persons which represent the major types of people in a particular social group. Subjects could then be asked to indicate the kinds of social behaviors that are likely to occur (a) between themselves and these stimulus persons and (b) between all possible combinations of these stimulus persons. This procedure is potentially an infinite regress in that one must discover a broad set of person categories before specifying stimulus persons necessary for the elicitation of behaviors.

Responses. In sampling responses it is convenient to distinguish among the format of the response, the response task, the environment of the response and the content of the response. The response format is conceived of as a transducer which converts a psychological magnitude into a magnitude observable in geometric extents or mathematical quantities. The response

task, as distinguished from the format, can involve any psychophysical method, such as rating, ranking, adjustment and comparison. The content concerns the specific psychophysical dimension. For example, given a set of 20 senators, we would ask for judgments such as the following: (a) rank order these 20 senators, (b) compare these senators to George Washington in terms of desirability as president of the United States, (c) rate these senators on dimensions such as honesty, intelligence, effectiveness, etc., (d) indicate in what way these senators will have to change in order to become as effective as Washington in the role of the president of the United States. Further examples of such tasks may be seen in Coombs (1964).

The response environment concerns the social context during measurement and its implications for the probability of a given psychological magnitude being "correctly" transduced. Demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), social deisrability (Crowne and Marlow, 1964) and other concepts such as motive-to-comply in the models of Dulany (1964) and Fishbein (1967), refer to the effects of the response environment. The most gross characterization of the response environment concerns whether there are positive or negative outcomes in store for the subject contingent on how he responds, or whether he perceives the situation as being this way; does he wish to please or to displease the investigator?

Response task sampling is intimately related to the problem of equivalence of measurement since what is required is the development of some sort of equivalence in the measurement operations across samples of subjects. For example, for politicans, in a country in which the parties are divided along the dimension of pro-Mao communist vs. Moscow-communist orientation, the use of the dimension Democrat-Republican would be inappropriate. In other words in each culture one needs to use indigenous

attributes to supply content to the psychophysical tasks. To be more specific, if one is to rate political stimuli in two cultures, one would need to supply scales which reflect the major dimensions of judgment of political stimuli in each culture. These scales maybe of two kinds: one set of scales may reflect underlying attributes that our culture-common, for example, honesty and competence, and other scales may reflect culture-specific attributes such as democrat-republican. The task is to employ a sufficiently representative sample of both kinds of scales so as to obtain adequate measurement of both the culture-equivalent and culture-specific attributes. Response formats and response tasks should be chosen that are either familiar to the subjects, or which can be easily and reliably taught to and performed by them. Response environments should be chosen so as to maximize cooperation in performing the task, but not constrain the outcome. Therein lies considerable pilot testing. But its importance for the outcome of the study can hardly be underestimated. The outcomes of such pilot tests may well have considerable yield for the rest of the research, and lend much experience useful in interpretation of data at a later date.

The previous example illustrates one of the distinctions suggested by Pike (1954) who argued that one can describe cultures in their own terms using dimensions which emerge from a within culture analysis or using dimensions which are culture-common. The descriptions of cultures according to the categories that emerge from within the culture analysis is called the emic approach, while the description on the culture-common dimensions is called the etic approach. We suggest that a combination of the two approaches may be most effective, one in which one begins with a emic approach and discovers some attributes which are culture-common in spite of the fact that they are indexed in culture-specific scales. The point is similar

to one made by Campbell (1964) in which he points out that between culture differences cannot be evaluated in the absence of some culture-common attributes or dimensions. The culture-common attributes can be "discovered" by inductive procedures (as in Osgood et al, 1962) or can be supplied by an a priori theory (as, for example, in Freud, 1913).

An example of the detailed procedures utilized in arriving at an instrument which involves sampling of stimuli and response tasks, as discussed above, can be found in the introduction to the Appendix.

Instructions

The instructions for the tasks must be given in the language that is most natural for the subjects. This can be a serious problem when studying black Americans. Should one use black English or standard English? Our view is that the critical need is to develop trust. If one has rapport with the interviewee is is not critical that he use black English. In fact, black English may be seen as a "put on" by the blacks. Ghetto dwellers have developed an elaborate procedure for faking answers and giving "whitey what he wants." It is for this reason that the interviewers will have to be trained most carefully, allowed ample time to develop rapport, and the subjects will have to be paid for their time. The interviewers should employ paralinguistic cues (intonation, style, delivery) in the pre-data-gathering phase of the interview, to help establish rapport. It is probably best to spend an introductory hour and three additional hours with each interviewee. The first hour should be primarily designed to establish rapport, and only limited data should be gathered. Reliability checks should be introduced across the three last sessions. Tape recorders may be used with a sample of interviews to cross-check the data.

When working in other cultures, where the subjects expect to use a local language, it is necessary to employ translation of the instructions into the local language. Such translations can best be done by some variant of the method of decentering, recommended by Werner and Campbell (1969). Several versions of the same instrument, for example, would allow the average response of the subjects to represent the common meaning of the words used in these versions. Translation should use a multi-stage iteration, in which one starts with language O_1, employs bilinguals to translate to T_1, a new set of bilinguals to go to O_2 and monolingual judges to examine the similarity of O_1 and O_2; modifications in the original O_1 are then introduced, until the match between O_1 and O_2 is very good. Similarly, T_1 should match T_2. The translation of paragraphs, rather than single words, often avoids problems of non-equivalence in the meaning of specific words. It is desirable to avoid the use of the same word in different response tasks, since poor translation will carry to all the response tasks. Rather, the systematic sampling of synonyms and the use of instructions with several synonyms is more likely to convey the meaning of the response tasks.

Interpretations

The data that are obtained when judgments are made in which the stimuli produced particular responses from various populations of subjects are subjected to multi-variate analyses. Typical analyses are one, two and three-mode factor analyses (Tucker, 1966). The interpretation of these analyses is sometimes subjective and, therefore, requires the use of multiple interpreters. These interpreters should be drawn from all the cultures represented in the samples of subjects and should have adequate training in psychology and psychometric procedures in order to be able to discuss the meaning of the particular attributes which are derived from the multi-variate approaches.

Checks of Comprehension

A major problem in studies of subjective culture is that what appears as a cultural difference may simply be a difference in the ability of subjects to understand instructions. It is, therefore, necessary to check that subjects do, in fact, have similar understandings of the nature of the tasks that they are asked to perform before they begin making their judgments. Comprehension of the task involves two components: (a) a task that is suitable for the population and clearly communicated to them on the one hand, and (b) adequate understanding of the task on the other hand. Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966) utilized checks to establish that the subjects could understand their response system: simple words like "longer-shorter," "red-black," "right-left." Great care must be taken to equalize the familiarity of the subjects with the instruments, by providing a certain amount of pre-training in the kinds of judgments that are required, the motivation of the subjects to perform the task, by paying them or rewarding them in equivalent ways, and the demand-characteristics of the experiment including the social desirability of the responses in the two cultures. An example of a comprehension task in a probability judgment task is the inclusion inclusion of an item such as, "How likely is it that if you cut off your hand, you will bleed?" One might reasonably expect the subjects to indicate a high probability.

Checks of Biases

At the point of data analyses and interpretation, it is also important to check a variety of possible biases in response style which may effect the results. For example, certain cultures are higher in acquiescence response bias than others. In certain cultures extreme checking styles are frequently used. All systematic scale-checking biases should be

controlled. In addition, the anonymity of the subjects must be preserved; or not preserved depending on cultural preferences for identification.

The pattern of response in the response format due to systematic biases should be distinct from a non-biased pattern. The example given by Segall et al (1966) is clear but unusual since they delimit the range of non-biased patterns greatly by using a unidimensional Guttman scale response task.

Major Analyses

The data obtained from the instruments discussed above generally form a cube, with s stimuli, r response continua and N subjects. In a typical study, for instance, s = 30, r = 20, N = 200 (100 subjects from each of two groups). In many studies the response continua are split, with some continua culture-common, and appropriate for every stimulus, and some culture specific and appropriate for only one stimulus. For example, 10 of the 20 might be appropriate for all stimuli and common across the 30 stimuli, thus giving a cube of data size 30 x 10 x 200, and some might be specific to the particular stimuli, thus giving 30 matrices of size 20 x 200. One could then do a three-mode factor analysis of the 30 x 10 x 200 matrix (Tucker, 1966) or 30 two-mode factor analyses (Tucker and Messick, 1963) of the 20 x 200 matrices. The three-mode analyses give information about the way particular types of people respond in different ways to particular types of stimuli. The two-mode analyses give information about the way particular types of persons respond in different ways to a particular stimulus; since there are 30 stimuli, there are 30 analyses.

Another approach is to do a discriminant function analysis utilizing the known groups of subjects. Here the question is which of the 20 response continua discriminate in an optimal way the perceptions of the 100 subjects

of one group, from the perceptions of the 100 subjects of the other group, for each of the 30 stimuli. This means, then, that one would do 30 discriminant function analyses.

Examples of studies which have utilized these approaches can be found in Triandis, Feldman and Harvey (1970a, b, c, d).

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APPENDIX

Introduction

In order to explicate the procedures that we described in the body of this report, we are here going to discuss in some detail the way a particular questionnaire was constructed for the study of person perception in black and white, lower-class, male samples. The purpose of this study was to contrast blacks and whites on certain dimensions of social perception.

Our first task was to obtain a reasonable sample of stimulus persons that could be used for the elicitation of characteristics of people in each sample. A list of some 30 stimuli was produced primarily on the basis of our reading of the literature. The list was discussed with experts in the field of black and white relations, with blacks from the ghetto, with black psychologists and others who had some familiarity with the major types of people who may produce differences in perception between blacks and whites. For example, the concept Uncle Toms was presumed likely to relate to interesting contrasts in perception. After extensive discussions, 27 stimuli were retained. These 27 were the result of dropping a number of stimuli from the original list and adding stimuli after our discussions.

At this point a list of stimuli, such as black policeman, white policeman, etc., was available. These stimuli were presented in sentences such as "Black policemen are _____.", "White policemen are _____.", etc., to samples of white and black adolescent males who were in a special vocational rehabilitation class in a high school in Chicago Heights, Illinois. The samples were asked to supply characteristics which filled these sentences. Each subject was asked to supply three fill-ins for each stimulus. The responses of the subjects were then summarized. This data was listed both by stimulus and by cultural group. Examination of the responses of the

subjects suggested that certain responses occurred both across stimulus persons and across racial groups. The most frequently mentioned responses, in the judgments of the judges looking at these summary responses, were then incorporated in the questionnaire. The first ten characteristics, namely, intelligent, lazy, brave, unimportant, aggressive, active, helpful, tough, hardworking and trustworthy, were included in the questionnaire for all 27 stimuli. In addition ten more characteristics were included which were specific to each stimulus. Five of these came from the black and five from the white sample. This permits both an emic and an etic analysis. Since the first ten can be used across stimuli they can be used to make comparisons of the stimuli and to determine the dimensional structure of the 27 stimuli across all subject groups, whereas members of the last ten can be used only for the specific stimulus. For example, a two-mode factor analysis for the concept "black policeman" utilizing all 20 characteristics can be done in which one mode consists of 20 characteristics and the other mode consists of all the subjects from both cultural groups who have taken this questionnaire.

The procedures utilized with the other questionnaires which are found in the present Appendix were extremely similar. For Questionnaire No. 2, the first ten behaviors which one might undertake with each of the stimulus persons listed are common and the remaining ten are specially derived from the two cultural groups. In Questionnaire No. 3, there are 20 behaviors which might take place in different roles and in different situations. These 20 were again derived ten from the black and ten from the white pretest samples. In Questionnaire No. 4, 25 characteristics of jobs are presented together with a variety of jobs. The 25 characteristics were again derived

from both cultural groups. Questionnaires 5 and 6 measure the antecedents and perceived consequents of certain events. They involve the simultaneous presentation of a particular event with 15 antecedents or consequents. Responses to each questionnaire are preceded by a check on the understanding of the instrument which is also included in the Appendix. The instructions to the interviewers precede each questionnaire. The biographical information sheet was attached at the end of each questionnaire and is included in this Appendix. It is hoped that the attached questionnaires and instructions can be used for the collection of similar data by other investigators.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

STEREOTYPES

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

CONCEPTS

Black Policemen
White Policemen
My Mother
Mailmen
Black Merchants
Janitors
Black Militants
White Revolutionaries
White Men
Black Men
Teachers
Black Women
Uncle Toms
White Women
Social Workers
My Father
My Friends
Street Peddlers
White Job Foremen
Black Job Foremen
Ministers
White Merchants
White Professors
Black Professors
Black Professional Men
Insurance Men
Hustlers

COMMON ITEMS

Intelligent
Lazy
Brave
Unimportant
Aggressive
Active
Helpful
Tough
Hardworking
Trustworthy

SPECIFIC ITEMS

Concept: Black Policemen
Concept Specific Items:

likely to try to help blacks
taking revenge on the white man
honest
sensitive
friendly
pigs
streetwise
prejudiced toward whites
more interested in getting promoted than in being fair to black people
mellow (nice)

Concept: White Policemen
Concept Specific Items:

efficient
friendly
honest
prejudiced toward blacks
pigs
understanding
more interested in what people do than why they do it
act brave but are scared
sensitive
street-wise

I (2)

Concept: My Mother
Concept Specific Items:

sensitive
trusting
dominant in the household
self-sacrificing
responsible
weak
suspicious
in the know
proud
dependable

Concept: Mailmen
Concept Specific Items:

friendly
dependable
well-paid
honest
smart
bring good news
bring bills
bring money
talkative
have a steady job

Concept: Black Merchants
Concept Specific Items:

earning a good living
satisfied with their jobs
honest
in business to help black people
ambitious
have hot (stolen) goods
Uncle Toms
forced to act against their own feelings
good salesmen
proud

Concept: Janitors
Concept Specific Items:

underpaid
unskilled
don't take pride in their work
ashamed of their jobs
patient
gruff
do satisfying work
ambitious
moonlighters
honest

Concept: Black Militants
Concept Specific Items:

dangerous
feared
shrewd
excessively violent
insecure
irrational
hurting black people's chances for equality
idealistic
bold
power hungry

Concept: White Revolutionaries
Concept Specific Items:

powerful
hate black people
dangerous
hypocritical
misguided
unable to make clear what they want
insecure
hostile
self-centered
trying to make changes too fast

I (3)

Concept: White Men
Concept Specific Items:

shrewd
lecherous
powerful
men who want everything
hated by majority of blacks
bigoted
ambitious
kind
handsome
able to get a good education (or job)

Concept: Black Men
Concept Specific Items:

deprived
ambitious
dirty
equal to white men
talented
troublemakers
proud
strong
handsome
too sure they are always right

Concept: Teachers
Concept Specific Items:

wise
snobbish
concerned with their students' education
people who look at you for your work and as individual
generally well-informed
stimulating
fair
successful
paid well
nice

Concept: Black Women
Concept Specific Items:

beautiful
sensitive
loud
mistreated
let downs
easy to get along with
black and proud of it
those who encourage their children to make something out of their lives
unskilled
respectful

Concept: Uncle Toms
Concept Specific Items:

disloyal
dangerous
sincere
selfish
foolish
friendly
trying to "belong"
unskilled
brainwashed by the white man
destructive

I (4)

Concept: White Women
Concept Specific Items:

shrewd
desirable
off limits to black men
beautiful
wealthy
condescending in their attitudes (talk down to people)
good wives and mothers
proud
prejudiced
housekeepers

Concept: Social Workers
Concept Specific Items:

people that can help you with personal problems
concerned about others' welfare
understanding
perceptive
involved in social problems
peaceful
well paid
dedicated
tolerant
idealistic

Concept: My Father
Concept Specific Items:

limited
dominant
prejudiced
ambitious
handsome
loving
a person who tells me the things I don't know
a very honest man
proud
masculine

Concept: My Friends
Concept Specific Items:

understanding
looking for "their place in life"
there when I need them
sincere
like brothers (or sisters) to me
foolish
people I can go to for favors
real "bad"
good gamblers
of all races and religions

Concept: Street Peddlers
Concept Specific Items:

independent
self-motivated
unhappy
those who have tried hard but failed
talkative
likeable
slobs
those who have given up on life
desperate people
honest

Concept: White Job Foremen
Concept Specific Items:

company men
men who sense problems and frustrations and see the human side of people
prejudiced
men who get paid a lot
too free with their power
well-educated
men who pick favorites
responsible

I(5)

Concept: Black Job Foremen
Concept Specific Items:

men who think they own the world
Uncle Toms
responsible
people who have pride in their jobs
conservative
pressured
promoted last
prejudiced
mean
mean who preach for peace

Concept: Ministers
Concept Specific Items:

leaders
dedicated
understanding
aloof from the common man
socially uninvolved
respected
kind
paid well
peaceful
fakers

Concept: White Merchants
Concept Specific Items:

more able to serve the public than black merchants
crooked
out to get as much profit as possible
concerned about people
shrewd
wealthy
friendly
prejudiced
mean to the poor
polite

Concept: White Professors
Concept Specific Items:

leaders
rich
idealistic
important
busy
people who teach what they believe
not prejudiced
reliable
wise
people with insight into problems

Concept: Black Professors
Concept Specific Items:

gifted
proud
people who give their students a sense of purpose
understanding
idealistic
respected
often used as a figurehead by whites
unique
well paid
not prejudiced

I(6)

Concept: Black Professional Men
Concept Specific Items:

symbols of achievement
pace setters
snobs
discriminated against
trying to help the black people
concerned
people with a sense of purpose
people with pride in themselves
important
highly paid

Concept: Insurance Men
Concept Specific Items:

money-grabbers
over friendly
pushy salesmen
paid well
self-centered
honest
dependable
educated
understanding
interesting to talk to

Concept: Hustlers
Concept Specific Items:

talented
people who know how to get along, no matter what
mean
harmful
unhappy
cool
sharp
witty
people who scrape to live (make a living the best way they can)
people who always have money

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

CONCEPTS

Uncle Tom
White Policeman
Black Man
Black Woman
Social Worker
My Father
Street Peddler
White Job Foreman
Ministers
Black Merchant
White Professor
White Revolutionary
Black Professional
Insurance Man
Black Policeman
Janitor
White Man
White Woman
My Mother
My Friends
My Teachers
Black Job Foreman
White Merchant
Black Militant
Black Professor
Hustler
Mailman

COMMON ITEMS

Criticize
Go out with
Respect
Eat lunch with
Listen to
Help
Stay away from
Trust
Ask for advice
Be friends with

SPECIFIC ITEMS

Concept: Uncle Tom
Concept Specific Items:

hang him
tell him off
call him names
get rid of
hit him
try to talk him into our point of view
tell him he is a disgrace
take a camping trip with
visit him in his home
try not to harass him in any way

Concept: White Policeman
Concept Specific Items:

watch him
try to get him to understand some of the real problems
remove him from the ghetto
beat him up
talk to him
harass him any way possible
be on his side
date
argue with
would not explain anything to him

II(2)

Concept: Black Man
Concept Specific Items:

set up goals
have intellectual conversations with
live with him
leave him alone
treat him as he treats me
participate in neighborhood sports with
go places with
steal with
date
become emotionally close

Concept: Black Woman
Concept Specific Items:

love
learn from
be seen with her
work with her on a job
talk very heavy
ask her to live with me
try to treat as equal
make her not be prejudiced against others
visit at her house if invited
invite her to my house

Concept: Social Worker
Concept Specific Items:

volunteer some of my time to help him (or her) with his (her) casework
try to understand him
discuss my problems with
try to get a conversation going
work with her (him)
talk with
try to make a good impression
go to party with
have coffee with
ask for help

Concept: My Father
Concept Specific Items:

get to know him
communicate with him
beat him up
be obedient to
argue with
make him stay out of my personal business
talk my problems out with him
try very hard to please him
stay out of his way
ask for money

Concept: Street Peddler
Concept Specific Items:

out talk him
bargain with him
would live with him
be kind to him
lock him up
be cool with
try to cheat him
sell with him
ignore
tell him to get a better job

II(3)

Concept: White Job Foreman
Concept Specific Items:

learn about his job
gain his respect
be obedient to
do what he says if it is within reason
show dislike to
work hard for
tell him to hire more blacks
suggest that blacks should have just the same jobs as whites
respect his orders
disagree with

Concept: Ministers
Concept Specific Items:

go to for spiritual advice
be nice to him
be honest with him
discuss God with
talk to in time of need
watch my mouth with
try to help in church
follow his advice
tell him to preach the Bible and the Bible only
would feel ill at ease with him

Concept: Black Merchant
Concept Specific Items:

patronize him more
encourage him
be unfriendly to
be dishonest with him
steal something from him
burn his store
believe in him
buy his products
check all of his merchandise
learn to trust him

Concept: White Professor
Concept Specific Items:

learn from him
like him
discuss a problem
respect his qualities
be very polite with
act as though we were friends
work together
put his theory to work
give suggestions to
discuss my future with

Concept: White Revolutionary
Concept Specific Items:

be seen with him
listen to him
join him
try to understand the cause
help all I can
show dislike to
try to start a fight with
harass them in any way
make sure he is not brainwashing other whites to become what he is
might agree with some ideas but not manner

II(4)

Concept: Black Professional
Concept Specific Items:

learn from him
ask him to help me
have nothing to do with him
use his help
ask him questions about his profession
try to be like him
treat him as someone special
would not argue a point with him
be his partner
go to for help

Concept: Insurance Man
Concept Specific Items:

be seen with him
be nice to
do business with
explain financial problems to
buy a policy from
suggest that he help his policy holder, but not brainwash him
rush into a deal with
respect his ability to offer the best policies
date
would not work with him

Concept: Black Policeman
Concept Specific Items:

be sincere with
beat him up
ignore him
call him names
do as he says
be normal
treat him as a brother
have coffee with
ask directions
talk about the race problem with

Concept: Janitor
Concept Specific Items:

have a drink with him
give him inspiration to elevate himself beyond the status that he already is
ask him how he likes his job
tell him what to do
ask him how to fix something
look at TV with
shoot dice with
gossip with about inhabitants of building
date
go to party with

Concept: White Man
Concept Specific Items:

communicate with
get to know him
reason with him
live with him (if I had to)
would rob him
fight him
sit at the same table with him
recognize as an individual
marry him
work with him

Concept: White Woman
Concept Specific Items:

meet all of them I can
win her confidence, respect and loyalty
beat her up
be nice to her
try to get her money
love her
join her in protest march
invite her over to dinner
room with
would tell all my problems

Concept: My Mother
Concept Specific Items:

give her a vacation
buy her a home
tell her to get lost
love her
be nice to her
buy her things
be polite
obey her
argue with
make her proud of me

Concept: My Friends
Concept Specific Items:

have constructive talks with
beat them up if I get mad at them
be seen with them
suggest that they stop coming over so much
steal with
drink with
play games with
go swimming with
back up
make them be reliable

Concept: My Teachers
Concept Specific Items:

get a better understanding from them
learn something from them
let them teach me instead of me teaching them
beat them up
go places with them
be cool with
suggest new teaching methods to
try to make good impressions
argue with
be nice with

Concept: Black Job Foreman
Concept Specific Items:

gain his respect
communicate with him on a brotherly level
tell him off
do as he says if it is within reason
work hard for
ask for a job
give him a few tips
obey his orders
disagree with him if I do
get acquainted with him and his family

Concept: White Merchant
Concept Specific Items:

replace him with a black merchant
tell him I wish he wouldn't cheat
steal something from him
make sure that none of his merchandise is stolen
get his views on world situation
have party with
act as though I don't like him
believe what they tell me
invite to my house
if they are rude, let them know they disgust me

Concept: Black Militant
Concept Specific Items:

join him
encourage him
sympathize with him
understand him
wouldn't be seen with him
don't listen to him
get him to see the other side better
try to help him with his problem
fight with him
knock some sense into him

Concept: Black Professor
Concept Specific Items:

learn from him
don't listen to him
tell him off
put his theory to work
act proud of him
discuss a problem with
talk about the world with
talk about the black man with
treat as an individual
would want to question him

Concept: Hustler
Concept Specific Items:

learn his finesse
be seen with
would talk to
live with
have nothing to do with them
find out what he wanted to do and why he could not do it
be one of his partners
be cool with
not associate with
try not to be influenced by

Concept: Mailman
Concept Specific Items:

protect him
live with him
be kind to
get to know him
offer refreshments to on a hot summer day
walk and talk with him
help him deliver mail
gossip at front door
if handsome, try and get a date
treat as equal

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 3

ROLE BEHAVIOR

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 3

CONCEPTS

White student-black teacher (at City Hall)
White student-black teacher (at a park)

White neighbor-black neighbor (at City Hall)
White neighbor-black neighbor (at a park)

Cousin-cousin (in the house)
Cousin-cousin (at a park)

Black demonstrator-white policeman (at City Hall)
Black demonstrator-white policeman (at a park)

Black peddler-white revolutionary (at City Hall)
Black peddler-white revolutionary (at a park)

Mother-son (in the house)
Mother-son (at a park)

Black man-white revolutionary (at City Hall)
Black man-white revolutionary (at a park)

Black policeman-black man (at City Hall)
Black policeman-black man (at a park)

White foreman-white worker (at work)
White foreman-white worker (at a party)

Black policeman-white policeman (at work)
Black policeman-white policeman (at a party)

Black worker-white foreman (at work)
Black worker-white foreman (at a party)

Son-father (in the house)
Son-father (at a park)

White teacher-black student (at City Hall)
White teacher-black student (at a park)

Black student-black teacher (at City Hall)
Black student-black teacher (at a park)

White revolutionary-black man (at City Hall)
White revolutionary-black man (at a park)

Wife-husband (in the house)
Wife-husband (at a park)

Black policeman-white man (at City Hall)
Black policeman-white man (at a park)

CONCEPTS (CONTINUED)

Father-son (in the house)
Father-son (at a park)

White policeman-white man (at City Hall)
White policeman-white man (at a park)

White worker-black foreman (at work)
White worker-black foreman (at a party)

White policeman-black man (at City Hall)
White policeman-black man (at a park)

Black foreman-white worker (at work)
Black foreman-white worker (at a party)

White worker-white foreman (at work)
White worker-white foreman (at a party)

Black civil rights leader-black citizen (at work)
Black civil rights leader-black citizen (at a party)

Black teacher-black student (at City Hall)
Black teacher-black student (at a park)

Daughter-mother (in the house)
Daughter-mother (at a park)

Black student-white teacher (at City Hall)
Black student-white teacher (at a park)

White civil rights leader-black man (at City Hall)
White civil rights leader-black man (at a park)

Black man-white civil rights leader (at City Hall)
Black man-white civil rights leader (at a park)

Black man-white policeman (at City Hall)
Black man-white policeman (at a park)

Uncle-nephew (in the house)
Uncle-nephew (at a park)

White policeman-black demonstrator (at City Hall)
White policeman-black demonstrator (at a park)

Son-mother (in the house)
Son-mother (at a park)

Black worker-black foreman (at work)
Black worker-black foreman (at a party)

III(4)

COMMON ITEMS

Admire
Ask permission of
Fight with
Love
Take orders from
Work together
Call him (her) Mr. (Mrs., Miss)
Threaten
Discipline
Argue with
Laugh together
Invite to home
Tell personal problems to
Hit
Treat as a brother
Play games with (cards, pool, sports, etc.)
Relax with
Invite out to lunch
Give orders to
Show affection to

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4

JOB ATTRIBUTES

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4

CONCEPTS

Mechanics
Gangsters
Policemen
Teachers
Hustlers
Plumbers
Soldiers
Supermarket clerks
Janitors
Foremen
Lawyers
Mailmen
Construction workers
Store managers
Writers
Accountants
Secretaries
Social workers
Peddlers
Factory workers
Doctors
Truck drivers
Bus drivers
Unemployed men
Maids
Prostitutes
Gas station attendants

COMMON ITEMS

Well-paid
Intelligent
Skilled
Helpful
Dirty
Strong
Proud of their work and themselves
Respected
Brave
Efficient
Polite
Understanding of others
Talented
Dedicated to the job
Travel a lot
A good future
Good at their jobs
Lazy
Tough
Often in danger
Honest
"On the ball" most of the time
Bored a lot of the time
A lot of training
A steady income

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5

ANTECEDENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5

CONCEPTS AND ITEMS

To get a good job, you have to:

- have a skill
- have people recommend (say good things about) you
- go to an employment agency
- be willing to work hard
- be sure of yourself
- finish high school
- have experience
- be smart
- look in a newspaper
- show the right attitude
- finish college
- be interested in ("moved" by) the job
- look around at a lot of jobs
- have ambition (want to get ahead)
- know somebody at the company

To get a bad job, you have to:

- be lazy
- be unskilled
- be a high school dropout
- not look around much
- be uninterested (not "Moved" by) in the work
- be unintelligent
- act like you don't care about a job
- live someplace where there is not much work
- have a bad work record
- be strong
- not have worked much
- not want to get ahead
- be fired from another job
- take the first job offered
- not know what you want to do

To get a promotion, you have to:

- do good work
- be on time every day
- come to work every day
- show improvement in your work
- work hard
- not talk back to the boss
- show interest in the job
- show you can be a leader
- pay attention to the boss
- accept more responsibility
- be friendly to the boss
- do extra work
- like your work
- learn new skills
- do things for the company's good

To get a raise, you have to:

- learn new skills
- do a good job
- join a union
- ask for a raise
- be on time every day
- come to work every day
- do things for the company's good
- show leadership ability
- be "on the ball"
- be respectful to the boss
- work overtime
- not goof off on the job
- stay with the company for a certain time
- work hard
- want to get ahead

To join a union, you have to:

- work for a certain time
- be in good standing with the company
- be able to stand up against the company
- pay your fees to the union
- learn a trade
- finish high school
- be willing to go on strike
- know somebody in the union
- not want to be laid off
- have a job
- not trust the company
- be trained by an older man
- believe in the union's leaders
- want to get along with others at work
- be willing to work for the union

To finish high school, you have to:

- do the work you are given
- want to go to college
- be interested in your school work
- come to school each day, if you can
- please the teachers any way you can
- get passing grades
- be smart
- stay out of trouble
- want to finish
- want to learn things
- ask for help if you need it
- study hard
- get along with teachers all right
- want a good job
- have friends who are dropouts

To finish college, you have to:

- be willing to work
- have drive
- go to classes
- study hard
- know what you want to do
- have friends in college
- be interested in (dig) what you are doing
- have the right attitude
- do the work the teachers assign
- be smart
- have money
- want to "live good"
- want to learn
- believe in yourself
- get along with the teachers

To get arrested, you have to:

- be someplace at the wrong time
- get drunk
- run from the police
- have a "bad name" with the police
- hurt someone
- not care about what you do
- let someone see you doing something wrong
- steal something
- get "high" on drugs
- "look guilty" to a policeman
- make a mistake
- fight
- gamble
- be on the corner
- break a traffic law

To skip work or leave early (often), you have to:

- be lazy
- be sick
- be tired of work
- not like the job
- not like the boss
- have a date
- not care if you get fired
- be looking for another job
- not like the people you work with
- have friends who will cover for you
- have an easy boss
- not be a dependable person
- finish your work early
- not care if you lose some pay
- have something more important to do

5(3)

To be late to work (often), you have to:

not care if you get fired
be lazy
live far away from work
not have a good car
drink a lot
not like the job
not have self-control
have to take care of your family before you leave
be undependable
have good excuses
spend too much time getting ready
miss your bus
run into heavy traffic
get up late
not like the boss

To not be dependent on others, you have to:

have money
have a skill
believe in yourself
be a leader
be able to help other people
do what you want
not ask for favors
have your own car
be yourself
have good friends
be proud
have a good job
have your own ideas
like yourself
feel safe

To be respected and admired by others, you have to:

do something better than most people can
be kind to others
respect yourself
like other people
be willing to help others
be honest
act "cool", but not stuck-up
have a lot of money
be smarter than most other people
be thoughtful of others
respect other people
be modest
be trustworthy
act friendly to others
be generous with what you have

To have good friends, you have to:

be reliable
be honest
be a good friend to others
be respected
be loyal
be helpful
listen to their ideas
choose friends wisely
go a lot of places with them
keep others' secrets
be smart
do things for them
have money
share what you have
respect them

To be robbed, you have to:

be careless
let people know you carry money
walk down an alley
be unlucky
trust people
go places alone
get drunk
flash your money around
have a lot of expensive things
have friends
dress well
go out of your own neighborhood
lock your house
carry a gun or knife
be tough

5(4)

To have dignity, you have to:

- respect yourself
- be independent
- stand up for your ideas
- believe in yourself
- conform to society
- be proud of yourself
- be modest
- don't show emotion
- have money
- have a good job
- respect others
- be honorable
- be educated
- dress well
- be well known

To have your own house, you have to:

- sacrifice
- want to get ahead
- be reliable
- have a good job
- have money for a down payment
- work hard
- have good credit
- find an agent to sell you a house
- accept more responsibility
- be married
- have good judgment
- have a car
- get a loan
- be ready to take care of a house
- find a neighborhood you like and can afford

To buy a car, you have to:

- find a good deal
- have money
- have a job
- need to travel a lot
- have taken care of other needs
- have a good credit rating
- shop around for one you like
- be able to bargain with the dealer
- have a driver's license
- be dependable
- want status (people looking up to you)
- get a loan
- know how to take care of it
- be able to afford insurance
- be old enough to buy one

To buy fine clothes, you have to:

- have money
- know how to budget your money
- be the kind of person who wears nice things
- go to a good store
- have pride in the way you look
- have good taste
- have a job
- know what you want before you buy
- be good-looking
- want to impress people
- have a place to wear them
- think you are "cool"
- have friends that dress well
- want to impress women
- think they will help you get ahead

To use drugs (any illegal drugs), you have to:

- not be able to handle your problems
- want to "find" yourself
- want some kicks
- feel inferior
- have money
- have a connection (somebody to supply them)
- have nerve (guts)
- have people telling you how good drugs are
- have to know how to use the different kinds of drugs
- have a safe place to take them
- be curious about them
- have drugs easily available to you
- be unhappy with your life
- have friends who use drugs
- want new experiences

5(5)

To "do your own thing", you have to:

- have something you like to do
- be willing to give up other things to do it
- be "cool"
- make sure you don't hurt anybody
- be independent
- be mature (grown up)
- try out a lot of different things, to find out what you want
- learn how to do it well
- make the opportunity
- know what's happening around you
- have friends to help you
- want to express yourself
- not be afraid of what other people say
- just be yourself
- let it be natural, not forced

To get a girlfriend (or boyfriend), you have to:

- be well-liked (by everybody)
- dress well
- be good looking
- be friendly to everyone
- respect yourself
- be willing to sacrifice for another person
- respect the other person
- be yourself (not phoney)
- have a good line (rap, be "cool")
- let him (or her) know you are interested (dig them)
- have a good personality
- show affection (liking) for the other person
- have money
- meet a lot of people
- want to go with one person, instead of a lot

To get along with your boss, you have to:

- be friendly to him
- do good work
- be a reliable worker (don't be late, come each day)
- be ambitious (show you want to get ahead)
- agree with his ideas
- work overtime
- show respect for him
- correct him if you think he is wrong
- do what he tells you to
- show interest in the job (dig it)
- have a good job
- pay attention to him
- really like him (not just act like you do)
- laugh at his jokes
- be yourself

To get along with other people at work, you have to:

- be nice to them (considerate)
- work just as hard as they do, and no harder
- be friendly to them
- do good work
- help them if they need it
- be interested in others' work
- "play up" to the boss
- gossip
- show respect for others
- control your temper
- agree with them
- be yourself (not phoney)
- do your share of work
- do things together off the job
- be modest (don't brag)

5(6)

To steal, you have to:

need money
want to make easy money
have the chance to do it
get a gun
have somebody to help you
see something you want
be too lazy to work
have low morale
not care if you get caught
not be able to get a job
have friends that steal
have enough nerve
want to see if you can do it
be stupid
want to "prove yourself"

To join a demonstration, you have to:

believe in the cause
be a leader
have a respect for authority
know what is going on
ask questions about the issue
want to belong to a group
have friends that are demonstrating
want to change the society
think that you cannot get results without it
not be afraid of getting arrested
agree with the way the demonstration is run
be angry at some situation or policy
join a radical organization (like the Black Panthers or SDS)
think that demonstrations are "the thing to do" (fashionable)
want to convert people to your side

To join a militant or revolutionary group, you have to:

understand social problems
understand what the group wants
want to help the cause
be willing to fight
want revenge on another group of people
believe that they (the militants) are right
feel you are oppressed (put down)
have friends in such a group
want to change the society
be immature (not grown up)
not care what happens to you
feel unsure (unsafe)
have courage (guts)
find a group with good leaders
have respect for authority

To pay your bills on time, you have to:

be a dependable person
keep a budget
know when bills are due
have money on hand
have a good job
save money from your pay
not run up big bills
pay cash for most things
get a short-term loan
want to have good credit
be mature (grown up)
appreciate the things you are paying for
not want to get in trouble
plan ahead of time
not want to be in debt

5(7)

To <u>not</u> pay your bills on time, you have to:

not get paid on time
forget when they are due
be an unreliable person
not care if you get in trouble
run up big bills
not have a budget
not have money on hand
spend your money for something else
buy too many expensive things
lose money gambling
drink too much
lose your job
have a sudden emergency (doctor bill, car wreck, etc.)
be robbed
be immature (not grown up)

To get drunk, you have to:

be curious about what it is like
want to have a good time
have a lot of problems
have the money to buy liquor
want to be "cool"
have nothing to do the next day
work hard that day
be with friends
look for excitement
not know what your limit is
go to a party
want to feel good
have something to celebrate
be unhappy about something
have friends who drink a lot

To not finish high school, you have to:

dislike the teachers
have a poor family
be expelled (kicked out)
be lazy
think only of the present
not have friends in school
get bad grades
have no goals
feel like a failure in school
skip classes
find a job that looks good
get in trouble in school
have no ambition
not have anybody to help with your problems
be dumb

To quit a job, you have to:

not get along with your boss
get a better job someplace else
get tired of your job
not like the job
be lazy
have no ambition
not like the other people at work
have to work too hard for the pay you get
get low pay
argue with the boss
not be interested in the job
have no chance to get ahead
have bad working conditions
not do well on the job
travel too far to work

To get fired from your job, you have to:

do the job badly
not get along with the boss
be late all the time
be unreliable
cause an accident
not be interested in your work
disobey the boss' orders
not be dependable
goof off on the job
not get along with other people at work
come to work drunk (or high)
not have any ambition
not understand the job
quit work early all the time
disagree with the boss

5(8)

To do your job as well as you can, you have to:

- do only what you are told to do
- help other people
- do careful, neat work
- be interested in the work
- know why you are doing each kind of job
- do the work as fast as you can
- want to do a good job
- have good training
- work hard
- understand what is expected of you
- learn new skills
- be a dependable worker
- like the job
- need to keep the job
- want to prove your ability

To goof off on your job, you have to:

- want to play around
- not like your work
- not get along with the boss
- not have enough work
- lack interest in the job (it does not "move" you)
- be lazy
- not have ambition
- have a boring job
- not have the boss watching you
- not care if you get fired
- have friends that goof off
- not be dependable
- not care about other's safety
- not be afraid of the boss
- not like the others at work

To gamble, you have to:

- have money
- know how to play the games (poker, craps, pool, etc.)
- know where the action is
- not have anything else to do
- have a good idea what the odds on things are
- want to have excitement
- not care if you lose
- be willing to take a chance
- be looking for "something for nothing"
- have nerve (guts)
- have friends who gamble
- not care about your family's welfare
- expect to win
- think it is the only way to get a lot of money
- be able to borrow the money you need

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 6

CONSEQUENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 6

CONCEPTS AND ITEMS

If you get a good job, you:

- open a bank account
- feel safe
- have money for things you need (food, place to live)
- find a better place to live
- feel personally satisfied
- enjoy working more
- work harder
- have more responsibility
- are happier
- buy things you want most
- pay your bills
- come to work every day
- save more money
- do your best work
- want to get ahead

If you get a bad job, you:

- quit
- look for a better one
- get low pay
- can't buy the things you want most
- don't have enough money for the t things you need (food, place to live, etc.)
- have to work harder
- buy more liquor
- don't enjoy your work
- don't do your best work
- skip work often
- are bored with the job
- don't get along with the boss
- make excuses to your friends
- don't care if you get ahead or not
- aren't happy at home

If you get a promotion, you:

- have more money
- change your ideas about work
- work harder at the new job
- buy the things you want most
- want to get ahead even more
- demand respect from other people
- are happier at home
- are proud of yourself
- have more power
- accept more responsibility
- make plans for the future
- feel safer
- try to learn more about the job
- get more respect from people
- save some more money

If you get a raise, you:

- buy the things you want most
- donate a little to charity
- save some money
- work harder
- want to get ahead even more
- feel safer
- pay off some bills
- do more things you'd like to do
- are happier at home
- enjoy your work more
- make your family happy
- feel you've done something worthwhile
- want to stay with the job
- are able to afford the things you need (food, shelter, etc.)
- are proud of your work

6(2)

If you join a union, you:

- pay dues
- get a vacation with pay
- feel safer
- go out on strike
- go to the union meetings
- get better working conditions
- feel like part of a group
- get regular raises
- work for improvements on the job
- are more satisfied with the job
- try to be a union officer
- feel you are protected against being fired
- get along better with the boss
- work overtime
- get union benefits (retirement, sick pay, etc.)

If you finish high school, you:

- get a job
- go into military service (Army, Navy, etc.)
- go to college
- buy a car
- feel proud of yourself
- start planning your future
- get married
- feel more mature (grown-up)
- get respect from others
- don't have to depend on others
- are just lazy for a white
- are glad you don't have to listen to teachers any more
- try to get some job training
- move into your own apartment
- are treated better by your parents

If you finish college, you:

- get a good job
- work harder
- get better pay
- feel important
- get married
- don't have to depend on others
- have some of the "finer things in life" ("live good")
- get more education (law school, medical school)
- go into military service (Army, Navy, etc.)
- feel that you've accomplished something
- get respect from other people
- plan for the future
- move into your own apartment
- have your parents treat you better better
- believe in yourself

If you get arrested, you:

- go to jail
- have a police record
- put up bail money
- feel guilty
- are embarrassed
- make your family unhappy
- have to find money for a lawyer
- call your family for help
- stop doing whatever got you arrested
- get beaten by the police
- are put on probation
- have trouble getting a job
- try to tell the police you are innocent
- tell all your friends what happened
- are always being watched

6(3)

If you skip work or leave early (often), you:

feel guilty
get fired
relax a lot
lose the respect of the boss
get others at work mad at you
get a bad reputation
get your pay docked
are warned by the boss
have more fun
have to make up an excuse
lose the trust of others
make others do your work
try to make up for it
lose your chance to get ahead in the company
don't get tired at the end of the day

If you are late to work (often), you:

try to get up earlier in the morning
feel like you are letting people down
get a bad reputation
get fired
do your work badly
are not liked by other workers
make some excuse
get your pay docked
have a talk with the boss
lose your chance to get ahead
lose your boss' trust
aren't so tired when you get to work
lose the respect of others
feel like you are getting away with something
can stay out later at night

If you are not dependent on others, you:

stay out as late as you like
have a job
pay your bills
are married
can "do your thing"
learn to understand other people
help others
make your own decisions
sometimes can't get help when you need it
believe in yourself
are sometimes left out of things
have personal satisfaction
don't have many close friends
are mature (grown up)
accept your responsibilities

If people respect and admire you, you:

feel proud
care more about people's feelings
are concerned about other people
are happy
believe in yourself
want to live up to it
get stuck-up (think you're better than other people)
can go to others for favors
want to succeed even more
try to help other people when they need it
aren't free to do anything you want
feel safer
think that things will work out the way you want
can borrow money easier
are a better person

6(4)

If you have good friends, you:

- have someone to help if you need it
- do things together
- have fun
- help them if they need it
- give things to each other
- trust them
- feel safe
- feel good
- are proud of yourself
- share what you have
- are loyal to them
- aren't lonely
- get respect
- get in trouble together
- depend on them

If you are robbed, you:

- are hurt
- go to the police
- go to the doctor for treatment
- try to collect on insurance
- are more careful with your money
- don't go out alone at night any more
- get angry
- lose valuable things
- lose trust in others
- move to a new neighborhood
- testify against the robber, if he is caught
- try to help the police all you can
- carry a gun
- put strong locks on your doors
- only carry a little money afterwards

If you have dignity, you:

- try to live up to it
- are good to other people
- have more self-respect
- have respect from others
- are not liked by some people
- feel proud
- keep your cool
- are happy
- can do what you like
- are trusted by people
- are polite to everyone
- respect other people
- have a sense of decency
- get beaten up
- act like you are better than others

If you have your own home, you:

- buy furniture for it
- keep it in good shape
- are careful who you let in it
- make improvements to it
- live there for a long time
- invite neighbors over
- work hard to pay for it
- learn how to do repairs
- do without other things
- are happy with it
- have privacy
- feel safe
- don't depend on others
- have more responsibilities
- have a better place to raise a family

If you buy a car, you:

- work hard to pay for it
- keep it in good shape
- can do what you want in it
- have people looking up to you
- take your friends around in it
- impress your girlfriend (boyfriend)
- have more fun
- drive safely
- get insurance
- are happy
- can get to work easier
- spend money for gas and oil
- learn how to repair it
- show it off
- race it

6(5)

If you buy fine clothes, you:

show yourself off
impress people
take care of them
go to fancy places
meet more women (men)
get compliments from people
look respectable
are proud of yourself
get ahead at work
believe more in yourself
are happy
look good
save them for special occasions
get respect
have to give up other things

If you use drugs (any illegal drug), you:

get hooked
lose respect for yourself
don't feel safe
get high
try to get others to use them
escape from your problems
become unreliable
get arrested
hurt your body
feel sick
spend all your money on them
lose other's respect
feel good
understand things better
improve your life

If you "do your own thing", you:

are satisfied with yourself
feel free
have other people putting you down
are happy
don't depend on others
have friends
have purpose in your life
get in trouble
enjoy life more
aren't tied down by society
feel you have done something important
are mature (grown up)
ignore society's rules
keep trying to make yourself better
are responsible for yourself

If you have a girlfriend (or boyfriend), you:

share your experiences
have sex
have more drive
have more fun
try to treat her (him) well
have someone to help with your problems
feel more confident
are happier than before
think about getting married
lose some of your freedom
spend money on her (him)
worry more
go out more often
share personal feelings
grow up

If you get along with your boss at work, you:

get better pay
get to work later
go places together
invite him to your place
get better working conditions
enjoy your work more
get help with the job when you need it
do better work
feel he respects you
try not to let him down
get ahead faster
don't get along well with other workers
feel more confident at work
do what he asks
can talk to him about your problems

If you get along with other people at work, you:

- go places together
- make new friends
- help them if they need it
- enjoy working more
- don't skip work
- work harder
- feel like the time goes by faster
- get help if you need it
- feel that you are respected
- aren't bored on the job
- play around during working hours
- get ahead faster at work
- get better pay
- keep the job longer
- are happier at home

If you steal, you:

- get caught
- feel guilty
- steal again
- lose self-respect
- are afraid of getting caught
- have the money you need to live
- get sent to prison
- hide from the police
- ruin your chance for a good life, if you're caught
- get hurt by the police
- make your family feel bad
- can buy the things you want
- feel like you've gotten away with something
- lose friends' respect, if they find out
- brag about it

If you join a demonstration, you:

- get arrested
- feel you've done something good
- lose your job (or get kicked out of school)
- get into a fight
- feel like you're part of something, not alone
- learn something about the world
- are ready to demonstrate again
- have more self-respect
- have trouble with parents
- make new friends
- feel frustrated (get bugged)
- get more respect from others
- feel proud
- work harder for the cause than before
- try to get others to join

If you join a militant or revolutionary group, you:

- are in danger
- wonder if you did the right thing
- don't hear the other side
- try to get others to join
- get arrested
- get into fights
- feel like you are a part of the group
- stand up for what you believe
- lose your job (or get kicked out of school)
- feel proud
- work harder for the cause
- get more respect from others
- make new friends
- have more self-respect
- learn more about the world

6(7)

If you pay your bills on time, you:

- don't have to worry
- get a good credit rating
- can open charge accounts
- keep what you've bought
- plan how to spend what is left
- respect yourself
- are trusted by others
- feel independent
- avoid trouble with collection agencies
- can buy new things
- are free of debt (have no money problems)
- get respect from others
- have to go without some things you'd like
- feel relieved
- start saving for next month's bills

If you don't pay your bills on time, you:

- have a bad credit rating
- lose the respect of others
- need a co-signer to get credit
- lose the things you have bought
- have a collection agency after you
- buy some other things you want
- worry more
- feel guilty
- lose others' trust
- have to pay extra charges
- lose your job
- lose some self-respect
- have money problems
- look for bargains
- try to get help with the way you spend money

If you get drunk, you:

- feel sick
- get into an accident
- feel embarrassed
- are hung over the next day
- relax more
- feel happy
- have a good time
- lose others' respect
- get arrested
- mess up your clothes
- do silly things
- get robbed
- get into a fight
- laugh about it with your friends the next day
- miss work

If you don't finish school, you:

- can't get a good job
- work hard for low pay
- lose your friends' respect
- don't have much money
- can't get ahead
- hang around with your friends
- don't have to do school work
- try to go to night school
- get married
- are more independent
- feel older (more grown-up) than people in school
- feel sorry you quit
- feel dumb when talking to others
- are happy you're out
- let your parents down

6(8)

If you quit your job, you:

look for another one
relax
feel less safe
are unhappy
don't have the money to take care of yourself and your family
can't pay your bills
respect yourself more
take a better job
have a bad work record
stop doing things you like because you can't afford them
have trouble finding another job
try to collect welfare
feel you've done the right thing
argue with your family
lose others' respect

If you're fired from your job, you:

can't get another job easily
can't pay your bills
can't afford to do the things you like
lose others' respect
loaf around for a while
get mad at the boss
worry
feel embarrassed
look for another job
feel you were treated unfairly
can't support your family
lose respect for yourself
try to do a better job next time
try to get welfare
blame it on other people

If you do your job as well as you can, you:

feel satisfaction
get a raise
get promoted
respect yourself more
feel tired at the end of the day
enjoy the job more
get along with the boss
get offered jobs by other companies
get more respect from others
make other workers look bad
feel proud of yourself
make your family proud of you
have a good work record
want to do even better than before
don't have time for anything else

If you goof off on your job, you:

get fired
get hurt in an accident
cause others to get hurt
lose a chance for promotion
have more fun on the job
lose others' respect
get "chewed out" by the boss
lose the friendship of other workers
make other workers laugh
don't do your job right
aren't so tired at the end of the day
get a reputation for being lazy
don't get along with the boss
feel guilty for making others do your work
let down the people who depend on you

6(9)

If you gamble, you:

lose your money
make enemies
get arrested
have fun
win a lot of money
make your family do without things
steal to make up your losses
get "hooked" on it and can't quit
have excietment in your life
get hurt if you can't pay
have a more exciting life
argue with your family
have to borrow money
quit when you're ahead
get in with a tough crowd

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Biographical Information Instructions

These questions are meant to tell us more about you as an individual. The information you give us will be strictly confidential - no one but the reasearchers will see it, and they won't know who you are. We need this information so we can tell how many people of different age, sex, etc., answer our questions. Thank you.

YOUR AGE: _____ SEX: M___ F___ RACE: BLACK _____ WHITE _____

OTHER _____
(specify)

Are you Married? _____

Single?_____ (please check one)

Divorced _____

Have you lived all your life in this town? Yes _____ No _____

If No, did you spend your childhood mostly in a

farm community? _____

small town? _____ (please check one)

large city? _____

What is the highest grade you have completed in school?

one year high school or less_____

two or three years of high school _____

finished high school _____ (please check one)

one or two years of college _____

finished college _____

If you have not completed your education, do you plan to finish

high school ? _____

college ? _____ (please check one)

professional or graduate work? _____

When you were growing up, your family's income was:

higher than average for the country _____

about average for the country_____

less than average for the country _____ (please check one)

very much below average for the country _____

so low we were mostly on welfare _____

You may have seen in the paper stories about social class problems. In which of these classes, do you think you really belong?

upper class _____

middle class _____

working class _____ (please check one)

poverty class _____